

# THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

## PART 2

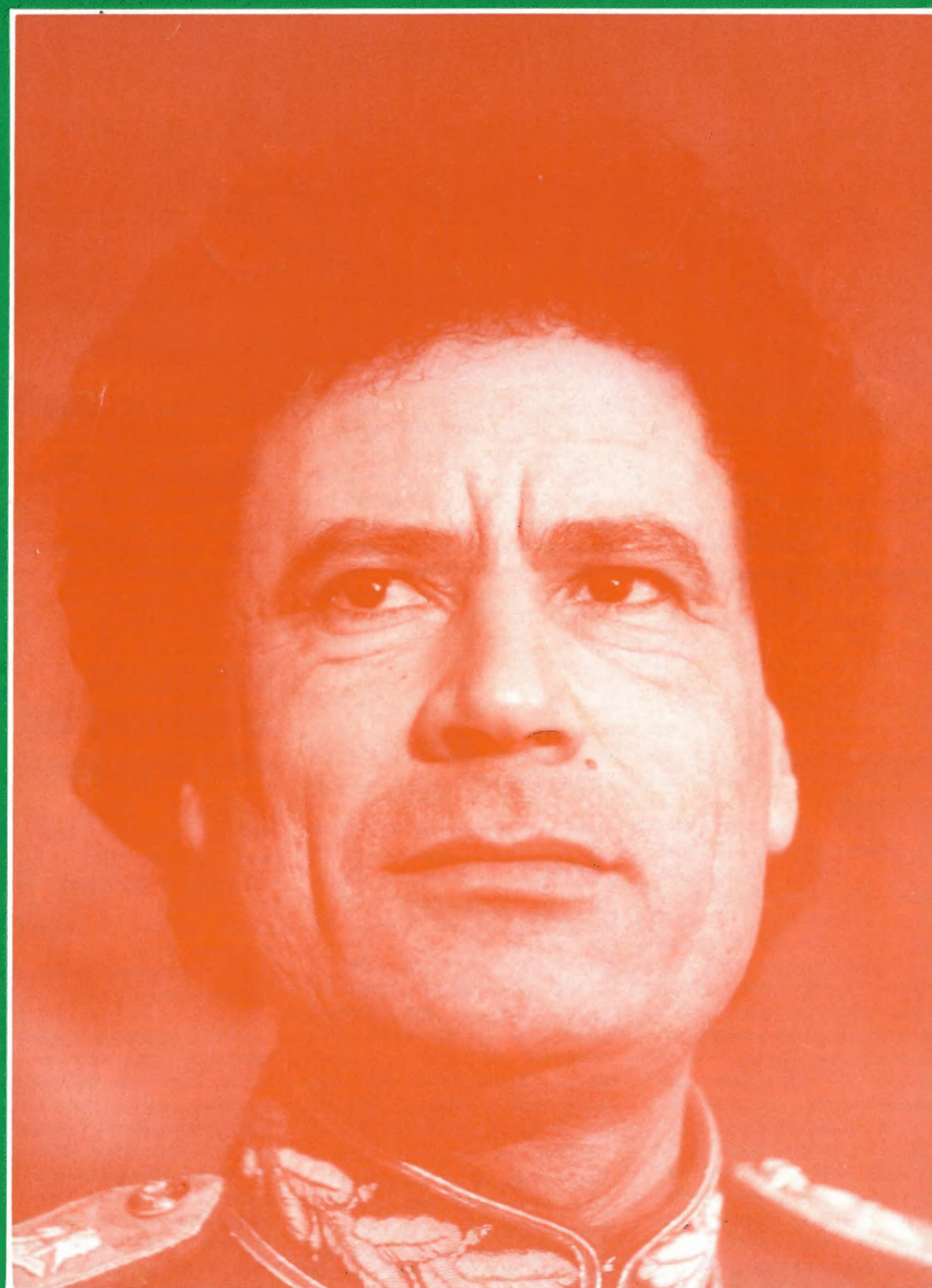
The solution of the Economic Problem

## PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.



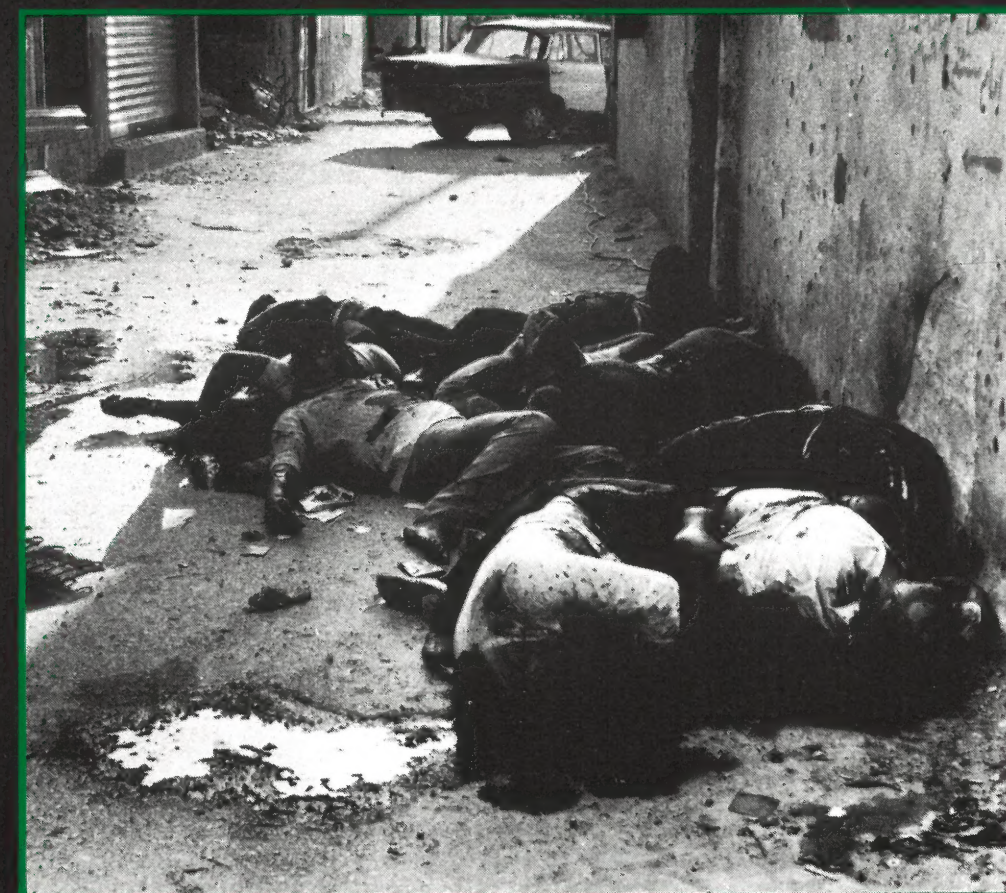
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# jamahiriya review

October 1982

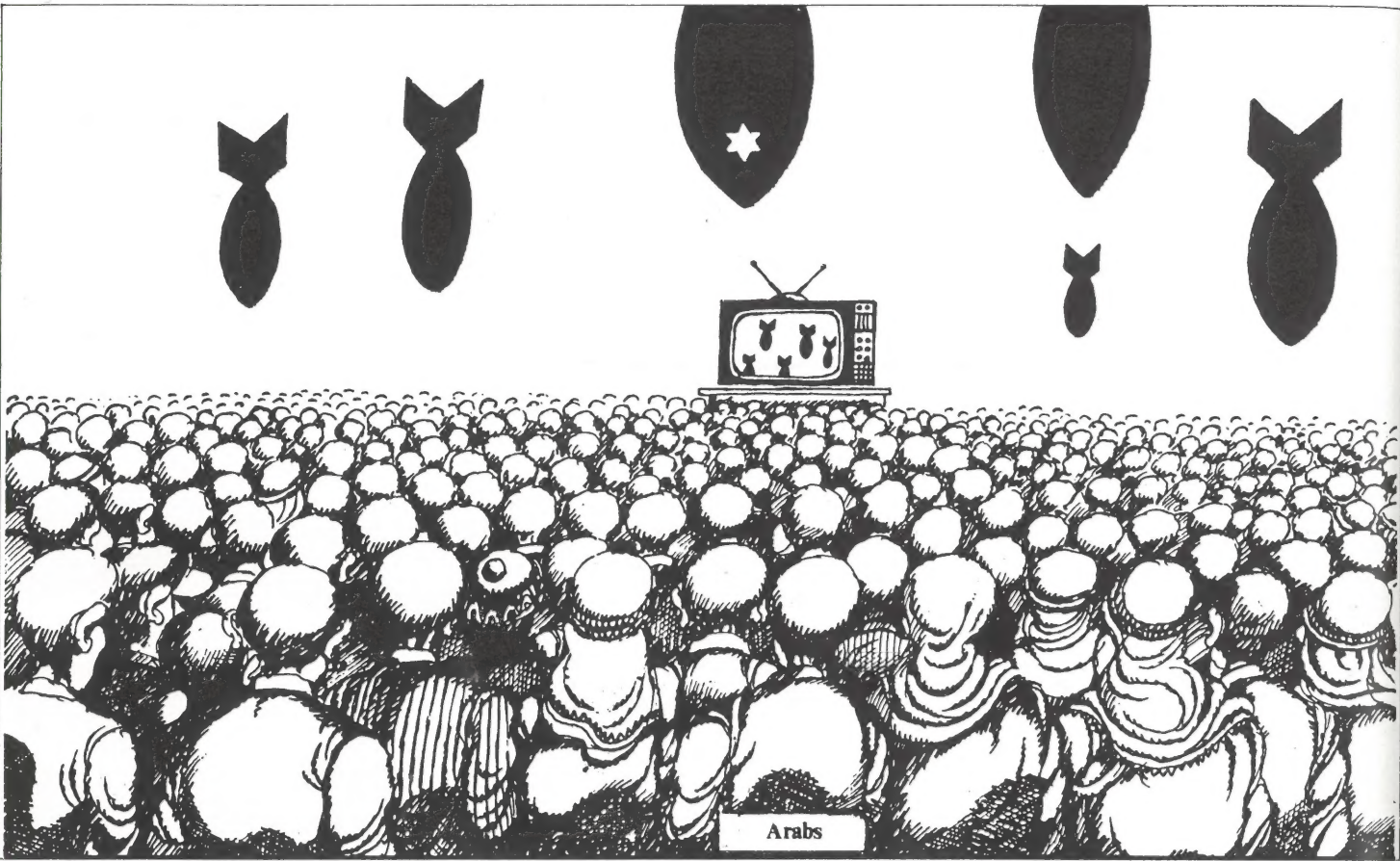
INSIDE:  
OPEC aid  
shames  
the West

'This slaughter has portrayed a level of barbarism, brutality and ugliness, the enormity of which has not been witnessed in the modern history of mankind'



## SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS





The Green March

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# jamahiriya review

No 29      October 1982

**SPECIAL REPORT:** The Arab nation is faced with the most serious challenge to its integrity and independence to emerge for over a decade. With Arab regimes stubbornly refusing to provide any defence for their territory, the United States and Israel are now poised to exert massive influence and control in the region. From the outset of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi has urged Arab rulers to mobilise for defence. In his address to mark the 13th anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution, Qadhafi reviewed the state of the Arab nation, and renewed his call for mobilisation to face the challenge. A report appears on page 9.

**SABRA AND SHATILA:** The brutal murders of hundreds of women and children in the two Beirut camps has again highlighted the dangers facing the Arab Nation. On page 13, Louis Eaks looks at the background to the massacre and examines Israel's motives in setting up the incident.

**LONDON TRIBUTE:** In Britain several hundred political personalities, journalists, business leaders and members of the diplomatic community were guests at a reception hosted by the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau. A special photo report appears on pages 10 and 11.

**CONFLICT STUDIES:** Under cover of Israel's aggression in Lebanon, the United States has quietly moved to step up its military presence in the Arab homeland. On page 14, James McAllerton examines the common factor between events in Oman and Morocco.

**CULTURAL REVOLUTION:** Two academics from Edinburgh University recently toured the Libyan Jamahiriya's higher education institutions, and have called for closer co-operation between British and Libyan universities. Dr Alan George reviews their impressions on page 15.

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# Peace and justice in Palestine betrayed at Fez

IT WAS an obscene spectacle: twenty Arab leaders, whose joint resources provide them with the potential to act as a world power, converged on impoverished Morocco as the dust was still settling over the Israeli invasion forces in Lebanon, and the trail of death and destruction inflicted on the Arab land from the border with Palestine to the centre of the capital Beirut was still warm.

War had been waged against the Arab nation by the Zionist regime headed by Menachim Beigin and General Sharon. Three months had passed since the Israeli government made it abundantly clear that if some Arabs, like Sadat, are enthusiastic to set the era of conflict behind them, Zionism had no place in its vision of the Middle East for peace and co-existence. The Zionist slogan remains that of the oath taken by Israeli soldiers: By the sword and flame we shall conquer this land.

The sword and the flame of the Zionists now hang over Lebanon; an independent sovereign state exists under foreign military occupation, joining the other Arab lands which have fallen to Zionist conquest (coastal Palestine and West Jerusalem in 1948, the Golan and the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967).

After the carnage inflicted on the people of the Lebanon, and with Beirut under Zionist occupation, the priorities for those twenty Arab leaders, when deciding their agenda, would appear obvious. But then Fez was no ordinary summit. You would be wrong if you assumed that it had been called to decide a positive response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Not so.

From Day 1 of the Israeli invasion, Libya's Muammer Qadhafi had spared no effort to get an Arab summit to convene. He believed that a united Arab response to the Israeli aggression was not only urgent, but an Arab duty. The western media is unlikely to record how Washington's surrogate ruler in Saudi Arabia, King Fahd, resolutely rejected the holding of such a summit. Through the Saudis' considerable influence and control over other Arab regimes, such as Jordan, Sudan, and Iraq, Fahd ensured that the Palestinians in Lebanon would be betrayed, and left to fight alone against the might of the United States and Israel.

The Fez summit was not to establish a joint Arab response to a brutal military occupation of Arab lands by Israel. At great expense, and with all the pomp and ceremony that Saudi petro-dollars can buy, the Fez summit was called to legitimise the Fahd Plan, a document surrendering Arab rights in Palestine and conferring legitimacy on the 1948 Zionist occupation.

The Fez Charter, as Morocco's King Hassan grandly describes the plan, certainly impressed the Israelis. It showed that the combined power and strength of the Arab nation, or more precisely of the Arab rulers, could produce no military reply to Israel's military aggression. Since the Fez Charter makes no mention of any Arab plan to liberate Arab lands by the use of military force, it can only be assumed that the Arab rulers have no military plan.

The Fez Charter will take its place in history alongside Neville Chamberlain's 'peace in our time' document. For Menachim Beigin and General Sharon were not impressed by this declaration of surrender by the Arab kings and presidents. Instead, Israeli troops marched quickly into West Beirut, disarmed Palestinian and Lebanese militias whose presence in the city was quite legitimate under the Habib plan, and prepared for the bloodletting at Sabra and Shatilia camps on the capital's southern outskirts.

Moreover, there is the failure of the United Nations to make any response to the invasion. The course of events in the Lebanon were not changed or influenced, in any respect, by the will of the international community. The United States saw to that; repeatedly the Security Council was the setting for one of the grossest indecencies in international diplomacy; the American ambassador, part of an administration whose hands are covered with the blood of innocents in El Salvador, Angola, Vietnam and Chile, amongst others, repeatedly raised her bloodstained hand to exercise America's privilege of veto against any Security Council resolution critical of Israel.

Muammer Qadhafi has now sought to focus the attention of all who share a concern for justice and peace in the world on the 'right of veto', which gives Permanent Members of the Security Council that special privilege to protect themselves or their surrogates and allies from any adverse criticism by the international body. All Permanent Members use the veto to protect themselves from international rebuke. It is a shameful privilege, which makes a mockery of the democratic concept and the UN principle that all nations are equal. All nations are equal, it seems, unless they are the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. The veto restricts the Security Council, and ensures that it has no role as an international peace keeper.

Throughout the Lebanon invasion, the United States made sure that Israel was able to flout every international rule and convention in the book, and at no time faced the prospect of international sanction. When the crimes of Lebanon are judged, shall we distinguish between the forces that killed and destroyed and the forces which protected them on the political and diplomatic level, and provided the arms and equipment for the invasion in the first place.

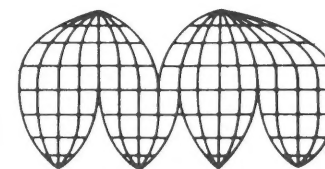
In his efforts to draw attention to this fiasco, Qadhafi has called on the Libyan Jamahiriya to leave the United Nations, and warned that Libya should devote itself to establishing a new international body in which all nations are equal members. Libya's demand that the 'right of veto' be scrapped deserves wide support from the international community. Those who have the privilege cannot be expected to relinquish it readily, but this is no reason for abandoning the campaign.

If Qadhafi succeeds in his mission, future victims of aggression, possibly the Arab nation, will be grateful to the Libyan leader for his efforts to ensure that the United Nations becomes the force for peace and justice which was the reason for its creation in the first place.

Had the United Nations been free from the restraints imposed on it by the United States, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon might never have happened. It was only the limitations placed on the UN peace-keepers in southern Lebanon that made it such an ineffectual force. Washington made sure that UNIFIL did not have the powers to deal effectively with either Israeli forces which routinely patrolled southern Lebanon, nor with Israel's surrogate forces under the command of Sa'ad Haddad.

Would Israel have invaded Lebanon if an effective, well-armed international force under the command of the United Nations had been in place with orders to engage the Israeli forces if they crossed the 1948 armistice line? There is no guarantee that Israel would not have attempted to invade, but we also like to believe that with the right mandate, UN forces would have done more than simply stand aside and wave the invaders on their way to Beirut.

A monthly review of Libyan, Islamic and Third World affairs



PANORAMA news review

## Veto must end or Libya will leave United Nations

LIBYA MAY leave the United Nations, and encourage other countries to follow, if the international organisation refuses to deal with the right of veto held by the Permanent Members of the Security Council. This is the message from the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi, contained in a memorandum to the UN Secretary General sent in late September.

Qadhafi points out that the UN was incapable of responding to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon because the Zionists were protected by the American veto in the Security Council.

The Security Council, the Libyan leader said, was 'paralysed' and had become 'a council exclusively for the security of Israel and the United States'. Through the veto powers, the Permanent Members were able to 'exercise dictatorship over the will of the member nations of the UN'.

He pointed out that the veto power was in direct contravention of the UN Charter which says, 'The Organisation is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members.'

## Top posts go to Libya

LIBYA HAS been elected to a series of top international positions during the past few weeks. At the United Nations, the Libyan Arab delegation was chosen on 20th September to chair the International Institute for Political and Civil Rights; nine other members were also elected from the Committee on Human Rights.

On the same day, JANA reported that the Jamahiriya had been elected as the International Monetary Fund's Executive Director, and obtained another key position as the Executive Director of the World Bank. The appointments were confirmed at the IMF's annual meeting in Ontario.

Finally, on 25th September, the Jamahiriya was nominated to the governing board of the International Atomic Energy Agency



during its 26th session in Vienna, attended by 94 countries. Libya is representing the African group. The Libyan delegation to the IAEA conference was headed by the Jamahiriya's Energy Secretary.

At the same IAEA conference, Israel was expelled, despite vocal protests from several western countries. Israel's credentials were rejected as a consequence of Israel's attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor last year.

## Protest over Sabra massacre

ARAB REGIMES were denounced by Libyan demonstrators on 24th September protesting the mass-

acre of an estimated 1,400 Palestinian men, women and children by Israeli backed militias which had entered the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut the previous week and waged a bloody massacre against the unarmed inhabitants.

The Libyan protesters linked the massacre with the failure of the Arab regimes to respond to the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, and the Fez summit's decision to seek a settlement with Israel rather than confront the military occupation of Arab lands with a military response.

The Tripoli demonstrators were addressed by the PLO's Representative in the Libyan capital, Abu Tariq.

See report on page 13.

## African summit gets backing

EFFORTS ARE continuing by the special committee established to canvass support for an Organisation of African Unity summit in the Libyan Jamahiriya. In early September Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda held talks with Nigeria's President Shugu Shagari in Lagos, and the two African leaders agreed on the importance of holding the meeting in Libya. 'Every effort should be made to reconvene the summit conference,' they declared.

President Kaunda also visited Sierra Leone for talks with President Stevens and Cameroon as part of the OAU initiative.

Meanwhile, Tanzanian Foreign



► Minister Salim Ahmad Salim visited the Jamahiriya in mid-September, as part of the intensive contacts underway for staging the OAU summit. It was reported that the Presidents of Tanzania and Zaire are against further disruption of the summit, and have declared their opposition to any further boycott of the kind orchestrated by Washington and Rabat when the last summit was scheduled in Tripoli during August.

## Fez: 'A summit of treason'

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has condemned the decisions of September's Arab summit in Fez as representing the Arab regime's final capitulation to joint US-Israeli plans to dominate the Arab homeland, and thwart the attainment by the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights.

The Arab summit convened in the Moroccan city of Fez on 6th September, and agreed to recognise Israel in exchange for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The summit called on the UN to guarantee the security of all the countries in the region — widely understood to include Israel, an interpretation confirmed by a number of Arab rulers present in Fez.

In a statement issued on 14th September, the Political Editor of the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA described the Fez meeting as 'a summit of treason, aimed at breaking the Arab nation's will and determination to continue the fight and destroy the Zionist-American wagon of death'.

Many Arab heads of state, he continued, had now 'publicly expressed their desire to live in peace with the enemy, to work unceasingly under the American banner, and to show their readiness to strangle the Palestinian cause'.

Libya's position on the Fez summit was also spelled out by the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau on 13th September. Affirming that Libya's boycott of the summit 'did not mean its absence from the issues of our nation', the Bureau said that the Jamahiriya's decision not to attend stemmed from its awareness that the summit had been designed to bolster US-Israeli plans for the Arab region, at the expense of the Arab nation.

Firmly disassociating the Jamahiriya from the summit decisions, the statement said that Israel's rejection of the 'humiliating concessions' agreed at Fez underline that the Zionists were simply not interested in a peaceful solution to the Palestine conflict. Referring to the summit's call for UN guarantees of the

security of 'all countries in the region', the Foreign Liaison Bureau made the point that it was in fact the Arab nation's security, and not Israel's, that was threatened.

The decision of the Arab regimes to recognise Israel and offer it concessions, the Libyan statement concluded, was 'an act of high treason', and as such was no different from Sadat's conclusion of the US-sponsored peace treaty with the Zionists, at the expense of Palestinian and Arab rights.

## Aid for Zimbabwe

DURING THE bitter seven-year struggle to oust the racist Smith regime in Salisbury, the Libyan Jamahiriya was at the forefront of countries providing material and other aid to the Zimbabwean liberation fighters, and the close ties forged between the two people have continued since Zimbabwe's emergence as an independent state.

This was underlined by the conclusion in late August of an economic and cultural co-operation agreement between the two countries. The protocol, initiated in Tripoli by Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa and by the visiting Zimbabwean Economy Minister Richard Hove, also provides for increased co-operation in air transport.

Shortly after, on 1st September, Harare radio disclosed that the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Harare had expressed the Jamahiriya's readiness to supply Zimbabwe with oil, adding that a Libyan delegation would visit the southern African state soon to discuss details.

## Anniversary celebrations in Libya

LIBYANS HAVE been celebrating the thirteenth anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution with a series of mass rallies in the Jamahiriya's towns and cities. As part of the festivities, revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi, who headed the Free Unionist Officers that toppled the corrupt regime of King Idris on 1st September 1969, undertook a hectic programme of events at which the achievements of the Revolution were highlighted.

Amongst the ceremonies he attended was a naval review on 30th August, in which new vessels, including missile craft, were commissioned into the Libyan fleet. Also present was Brigadier Abu Bakr Yunis Jaber,

Commander in Chief of the Jamahiriya's armed forces.

The climax of the celebrations was the annual military parade in Tripoli's Green Square, when thousands of Libyans gathered to listen to a two-hour address by Muammer Qadhafi, which centred on the crisis faced by the Arab nation after the Zionists' invasion of Lebanon. Amongst the foreign dignitaries present were Mr Chris Atim, a member of Ghana's Provisional National Defence Council, Mr Firman Sangui, leader of the Salvadorean National Resistance Movement, Mr Solitano Carribeo, who heads the Salvadorean Popular Liberation Forces, and a delegation from El Salvador's Farabundo Marti Liberation Front.

In a gesture of solidarity with the Jamahiriya, Syrian Prime Minister Abd al Rauf Qasem broadcast on Damascus radio on 29th August to declare 1st September a public holiday to mark the Libyan Revolution anniversary.

□ A full report of Muammer Qadhafi's 1st September speech, and other Revolution anniversary news appears on pages 9 to 12.

## New ties with China and Philippines

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's ties with Asia have been strengthened by a ten-day tour in August by a high-powered Libyan delegation that made official visits to the People's Republic of China and the Philippines. In China, the Libyan team, which was headed by Mr Jadallah Azouz Talhi, Secretary of the General People's Committee (the equivalent of Prime Minister in traditional structures of government), held discussions with senior officials, and concluded a wide-ranging economic co-operation agreement that included provision for Chinese companies to participate in the Jamahiriya's development programme. Specific spheres mentioned as being open to Chinese firms were road, railway and dam construction, housing, health, agriculture and land reclamation, and industry.

Before arriving in Peking, the Libyan delegation had held wide ranging discussions with President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, and his wife Imelda, Governor of Manila. In a third round of talks, Mr Talhi and the Filipino Premier were joined by the Jamahiriya's Economy and Light Industry Secretary, Musa Abu Freiwa, by Bukhari Salim Hoda, Libya's Secretary for Communications and Marine Transport, by the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Manila,

and by the Filipino Ministers of Defence and Trade. One of the topics discussed was a just and peaceful resolution of the problems faced by Muslims in the southern Philippines.

□ A full report on the Libyan delegation's visit to China appeared in the September 1982 issue of Jamahiriya Review.

## Libya 'acted against Seychelles rebels'

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya took prompt and firm action in support of the Government of President Albert Rene of the Seychelles during the recent army mutiny, it has been disclosed. The Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced on 22nd August that Libya made 'direct and forthright moves' that included contacting 'a number of states' over the crisis.

The abortive Seychelles army mutiny occurred in August, when disaffected soldiers went on a rampage that left up to fifteen people dead. The rebellion was put down speedily by loyal forces.

It was not the first time that the Jamahiriya has acted in support of the Indian Ocean island state. Last year, Libya offered to send troops to help protect the Seychelles' independence and territorial integrity after a mercenary force recruited by South Africa attempted an invasion aimed at toppling President Rene's socialist government.

## Friendship treaty with Czechoslovakia

AS PART of the Libyan Jamahiriya's efforts to bolster ties between the Arab region and the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe, Muammer Qadhafi paid important visits in September to Czechoslovakia and Poland. Major outcomes were the conclusion of a ten-year Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation with Prague, and agreement in principle of a similar treaty with Poland. Before returning to the Jamahiriya, Colonel Qadhafi paid a brief visit to Vienna for talks with Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

The Friendship and Co-operation Treaty with Czechoslovakia was signed on 9th September, after intensive talks between a Libyan team, headed by Muammer Qadhafi, and top officials of the East European country, headed by President Gustav



Husak. The Libyan delegation included Abdul Ati al Obeidi, Secretary of the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau, Heavy Industry Secretary Omar al Muntasser, and Housing Secretary Muhammad al Manqush. On the Czech side were Premier Rudolph Rohlícek, Deputy Premier Bohuslav Chnoupec, the Minister for Foreign Trade and the Czechoslovakian Ambassador to Libya.

In addition to the wide-ranging Friendship and Co-operation Treaty, the two countries signed an agreement calling for the strengthening of bilateral economic and technical co-operation.

The Libyan leader last visited Czechoslovakia in June 1978, when he was given a warm welcome that included the ceremonial award of the White Lion medal, the country's highest honour. President Husak visited the Jamahiriya only a year ago, and at the end of the Libyan delegation's visit to Prague, he accepted an invitation to pay another visit to Tripoli.

Muammer Qadhafi went on from Prague to Warsaw for talks with General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, Mr Henryk Jablonski, President of the Council of State, Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, and other Polish Government officials. On 10th September a joint communiqué announced that the two countries had agreed to 'pursue the conclusion of a friendship and co-operation accord as soon as possible', and that a protocol had been signed providing for increased economic and technical co-operation, particularly in the fields of industry, agriculture and road construction.

The timing of Muammer Qadhafi's East European trip was significant. After the capitulation of the Arab regimes in the face of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, Libya considers it as more important than ever to consolidate Arab ties with the Socialist countries that have traditionally been supportive of the Palestinian and Arab struggle against

Zionism. As the joint Libyan-Polish communiqué said, 'In view of the current situation in the Middle East, the solidarity of the Arab nation becomes increasingly important, together with the consolidation of co-operation between progressive forces in the Arab world and the Socialist Bloc countries.'

After ending his talks with Polish leaders, Muammer Qadhafi paid a brief visit to Vienna for talks with Austrian Chancellor Kreisky, who has been particularly outspoken against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The close ties between the Jamahiriya and Austria were bolstered last March, when Vienna became the first West European capital to welcome Muammer Qadhafi on an official visit.

## Revolutionary committees agree emergency programme

WITH THE Arab nation in deep crisis after the failure of Arab regimes to respond decisively to the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, the Jamahiriya's revolutionary committee movement has met in emergency session in the coastal city of Misrata to formulate a comprehensive strategy to safeguard the integrity and independence of the Arab nation and homeland.

The fifth meeting of the revolutionary committees was officially inaugurated by Muammer Qadhafi on 27th August, under the slogan 'pan-Arab tasks', and on 3rd September the Jamahiriya news agency JANA reported that the session had agreed a 'national revolutionary mobilisation to meet the successive campaigns launched by the Zionist enemy against the very existence of the Arab nation'.

Announcing the convening of the revolutionary committees' emergency meeting, Tripoli radio

WORKERS UNITE: A three day meeting of the Executive Council of the African Workers Federation of Petrol and Simili (photo above) warned of the threat posed by multi-national companies and oil monopolies when it convened in Tripoli during early September. Secretary-General Mohamed Methani of Libya called for unity of African workers, and urged support for African liberation movements.

American and all forms of foreign military presence in Africa was unacceptable, the Executive Council declared.

on 27th August affirmed that 'no other force than that of the revolution can shift the balance of power in the area and incite the Arab people throughout the region'.

Under Libya's system of direct democracy, the people exercise power by reaching policy decisions at their local congresses. The revolutionary committees act independently of the people's congresses, but they have no exclusive powers. Membership of the revolutionary committees is open to all those dedicated to the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution, and the committees are charged solely with propagating those ideals amongst the public at large.

## Space wars condemned

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya and Syria have jointly condemned attempts at using outer space for military purposes. Addressing the Unispace '82 conference in Vienna on 13th August, the two countries added that scientific advances should not mean a widening of the gulf between the industrialised and developing worlds, and should not be used to launch aggression.

## Warning on Iraq-Egypt ties

AFTER THE late Egyptian President Sadat abandoned Palestinian rights and signed the US-sponsored Camp David accords, the Arab countries convened a summit meeting in the Iraqi capital Baghdad, at which they jointly resolved to boycott the Cairo regime. Even before Sadat's assassination last year, however,

the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein was quietly moving to restore its links with Cairo, and after launching its aggression against Iran began receiving large quantities of arms from Egypt. Relations between Baghdad and Cairo have since been conducted openly.

In the face of widespread Arab silence on this Iraqi betrayal of the joint Arab position agreed at the Baghdad summit, Libya's revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi has sent letters on the subject to the leaders of the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, formed to counter the Camp David accords and linking Libya, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, Syria and the PLO. The letter, whose contents were disclosed by Damascus television on 22nd August, warned that the Iraqi regime was 'painstakingly working to strengthen and promote its relations with the Egyptian regime to a degree of open alliance'.

Muammer Qadhafi warned of the dangerous implications of this development. It was a 'flagrant violation of the Baghdad summit resolution', and set a precedent which other regimes might be tempted to follow. Moreover, the widespread Arab indifference to the strengthening ties between Baghdad and Cairo implied that any Arab country had the right to dissociate itself unilaterally from any joint decisions, without fear of reaction, making a mockery of all joint Arab agreements.

Saying that the Iraqi regime 'can now be considered a new party to the implementation of the Camp David plots', the Libyan leader urged a joint Arab condemnation of the Baghdad regime's violation of Arab summit decisions.

On 19th August the Jama-





The Al Fateh Revolution has moved to abolish regular army in favour of people's militia

Libya's Foreign Liaison Bureau met with Arab Ambassadors to Tripoli to draw their attention to the need for action over the developing Baghdad-Cairo axis, saying that the Iraqi regime's breach of Baghdad summit decisions threatened the continued functioning of the Arab League.

## People's bureau for Bahrain

BAHRAIN'S FOREIGN Ministry has agreed to the transformation of the Jamahiriya's embassy in Manama into a people's bureau, Bahraini radio announced on 21st August.

The call for the establishment of people's bureaux was first made by Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi in his 1st September 1979 revolution anniversary speech, but the process has since been speeded up. The Jamahiriya refers to its diplomatic missions in the Arab homeland as Brotherhood Bureaux, while those in non-Arab countries are termed people's bureaux.

## Military mobilisation presses ahead

WITH THE demonstrated failure of the Arab regimes to act in defence of Lebanon, Libyans are more conscious than ever of the need to strengthen their military capabilities. The Al Fateh Revolution, however, has been moving to abolish the regular army, which is considered a potential threat to the freedom of the public, and arms, including sophisticated heavy weapons and aircraft, have been distributed to the people, enabling them to defend themselves directly.

In his speech marking the thirteenth anniversary of the Libyan

Revolution, Muammer Qadhafi expressed the hope that the final abolition of the regular army would be possible 'soon', and the important strides being taken in the process of popular military mobilisation were underlined by a series of developments in August and September.

On 4th September Colonel Qadhafi attended a graduation ceremony at the Libyan Air Defence College, in the company of Brig Abu Bakr Yunis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Jamahiriya's armed forces, Brig Mustapha al Kharoubi, Libya's Chief of Staff, and the Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force. The day after, the Libyan leader presided at a similar ceremony at the Misrata Air Force College, where the graduates were also reviewed by visiting Democratic Yemen President Ali Nasser Muhammad.

Also on 5th September, Colonel Qadhafi inspected a plant for the maintenance of missile, radar, and other electronic equipment of the Libyan Arab Air Defence Force.

On 27th August, meanwhile, Brig Abu Bakr Yunis Jaber attended the passing out ceremony of a group of naval cadets in Tripoli. Libyan radio announced that the day before, a group of cadets had graduated from the Sebha Air Force College, and that a passing out ceremony at the Bomba Air Force College had been followed by a helicopter display.

The Libyan Jamahiriya's programme of arms training and distribution is administered by Major Khweildi Hamidi, who carries the title Commander of Urban Militarisation, and in recent weeks has had a busy schedule inspecting and encouraging students undergoing military training.

On 14th August Major Hamidi inspected the progress of students training in armoured vehicles, including tanks. On 19th

August he inspected a live ammunition drill near the town of Tarhuna by secondary school students training in mechanised units, and on 24th August he attended logistics exercises by secondary school students.

On 4th September, meanwhile, Major Hamidi presided at a ceremony to mark the graduation of a group of cadets from the Tripoli Police Academy. Also present was Mr Mohammed Abu Qasim aw Zuwayy, the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Justice.

## Pilgrimage under way

THE FIRST groups of Libyans left the Jamahiriya in early September to perform the annual Muslim Hajj pilgrimage at the holy sites in Mecca and Medina. On 7th September the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that the first pilgrim from the Bayan municipality and surrounding areas had left on board a Libyan Arab Airlines flight, and that another group of pilgrims had departed on board the *Grenada* from Benghazi port.

## Disabled Americans 'neglected by Reagan'

THE UN Subcommittee on Human Rights has heard alarming evidence from the leading association representing disabled people in the United States, detailing their neglect by the Reagan administration. Mr Bruce Curtis of the National Political Action Alliance for the Disabled, said that last year — the International Year for the Disabled, — more than 85,000 disabled Americans were struck off US social security lists, making them ineligible for a range of benefits.

Mr Curtis added that because of President Reagan's cuts in spending on social security programmes, a total of 219,000 people — almost five per cent of all Americans who were too disabled to work — were 're-viewed' in 1981, and that the numbers would rise to 567,000 this year, and to 806,000 in 1983.

Testifying to the Geneva-based human rights body on 24th August, Mr Curtis revealed that at least ten disabled Americans have already committed suicide in desperation at having their social security cut. He added that the review procedure is so complicated and intimidating that often mentally handicapped people cannot cope with the paper work.

By trying to dismantle such progressive legislation, and by cutting federal spending, said Mr Curtis, the Reagan team had violated the four main objectives set for the Year by the UN General Assembly.

It was the Libyan Jamahiriya that in 1977 proposed the designation of 1981 as International Year of the Disabled.

## Canadian Islamic centre opens

MUSLIMS IN the western Canadian city of Edmonton have been celebrating the opening in August of their first Islamic Centre, which boasts a mosque, a conference hall and a sports complex. The opening ceremony was attended by the Prime Minister of Alberta Province, by the city's Mayor, and by members of the local basic people's congress, which links Libyans resident in the town.

As part of the celebrations, the basic people's congress sent a telegram to Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi, expressing their appreciation for the funds made available by the Jamahiriya for establishing the new centre.

## African Youth Movement meets

DELEGATIONS FROM all over Africa converged on Tripoli in late August for the second session of the African Youth Movement, and for the preparatory cultural committee for the forthcoming African Youth Festival. On 25th August the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that delegations had already arrived from Guinea, Burundi, Mali, Congo, Tanzania, Senegal, Angola, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, Mauritania and Algeria.



## Facing the Zionist threat: 'Mobilisation is the only option'

TO MARK the Thirteenth Anniversary of Libya's Al Fateh Revolution, Muammer Qadhafi delivered a major speech, in which he defined the challenges faced by the Arab nation in the wake of Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

AFTER THE failure of the Arab regimes to give effective support to the Palestinian and Lebanese resistance during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Arab nation has only one option: to rid itself of its ineffective rulers, and to give the highest priority to mass military preparedness to confront the Israeli-American plan to bring the Arabs to their knees. This was the central message of Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi in his 1st September speech to mark the thirteenth anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution.

Muammer Qadhafi began a wide-review of the regional balance of power with a scathing denunciation of the Arab regimes' abandonment of the Palestinians in their hour of need. The regimes 'have lost every justification for their existence,' he declared, adding: 'they left the Palestine Resistance for two complete months to face the strongest army in the Middle East — the US-armed Israeli army.'

With the sole exception of Syria, which had suffered thousands of casualties while defending Lebanon, the Arab regimes had refused to respond to the Jamahiriya's appeal for the convening of an emergency Arab summit 'so that they would not be placed in the embarrassing position of being asked to enter the battle,' said Qadhafi.

The record of the Arab opposition parties was no better, the Libyan leader affirmed, asking: 'What did the opposition in Morocco do? What did the opposition in Egypt do? What did the opposition in Jordan do? What did the opposition in Sudan do?' He answered, 'All these oppositions failed even to force their governments to agree on a summit conference to respond to the battle for Beirut.'

He concluded: 'The battle for Beirut marked the end for all Arab regimes, all Arab opposition, all Arab opposition parties, of all Arab forces, whether of the right or the left.'

### No shame

Rebutting suggestions that the Jamahiriya should not have staged a military parade as part of its Revolution anniversary celebrations, 'because of the shame and dishonour that befell the Arab nation in the battle for Beirut,' Qadhafi stressed that Libya had no cause for shame.

'Libyan volunteers were the first to arrive in Lebanon,' he recalled. 'They were the first to fight side by side with the Palestinian forces and the Lebanese patriotic movement. We were the first to raise our voice and call for the despatch of combat forces. We were the first to call for an emergency Arab summit. We made every effort. We gave money, we gave arms, and we provided the men.' He added: 'Even now, part of the Libyan

• Continued on page 12



# London celebrates the anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution

The Libyan People's Bureau in London was host to several hundred guests at a reception to mark the thirteenth anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution held at London's Intercontinental Hotel. Those attending were drawn from the worlds of politics, diplomacy, industry and commerce, the Jamahiriya's trading partners, academics and the media.



Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mr Douglas Hurd (left) talks with a guest.



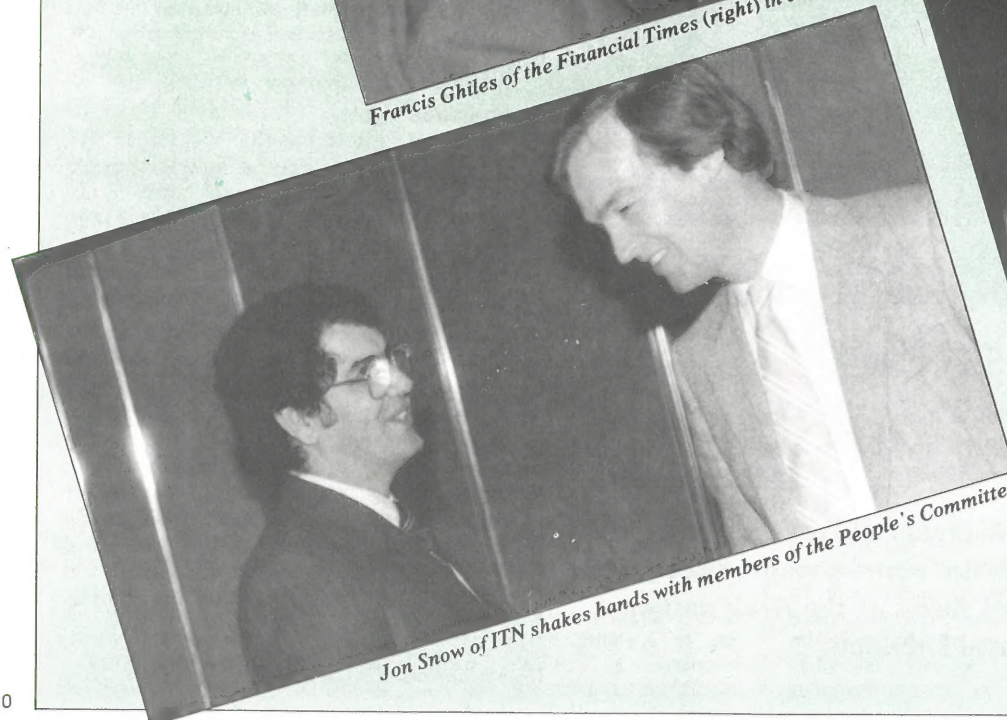
Francis Ghiles of the Financial Times (right) in conversation.



HE Ato Ayalew Wolde-Giorgis, Ethiopian Ambassador, greeted by Adem Kuwiri of the Libyan People's Bureau in London.



Adem Kuwiri gives a welcome to Mr D A Roycroft of the Near East and North Africa Department of the Foreign Office.



Jon Snow of ITN shakes hands with members of the People's Committee.



Vannessa Redgrave discusses Middle East developments with Nabil Ramlawi, London Representative of the PLO.



Adem Kuwiri shares a joke with Mr and Mrs Claud Morris, publishers of Voice newspaper.



• Continued from page 9

forces are in the Bakaa Valley, shoulder to shoulder with the Syrian forces, whereas no organised forces have been sent by any other Arab countries.'

The Libyan leader was particularly scathing about the performance of the regimes of Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Egypt and Sudan. Saudi Arabia, he reflected, had continued supplying oil to the United States, Israel's main backer, even at the height of the fighting in Beirut. How did the Saudi Arabian monarch dare show his face 'when he is sheltered by the American flag and finances the American arsenal which pours fire onto the Palestinians, the Lebanese and the Arab nation?' asked Muammer Qadhafi.

#### Colony

Recalling King Hassan's repeated offers to accept US military bases in Morocco, the Libyan leader declared: 'Morocco has now become an American colony.' Only the bitter liberation struggle of the Polisario Front guerrillas had prevented a successful Moroccan annexation of the former Spanish colony of the Western Sahara, said Colonel Qadhafi, adding: 'We must ensure that Western Sahara remains as a liberated region, pending the liberation of Morocco.'

Sudan, he said, had been taken out of the battle for Palestine and for Arab independence by the Numeiri regime's endorsement of the US-sponsored Camp David accords. A country which might have become the major agricultural region in the Arab homeland was now firmly 'in the US sphere of influence', he said.

The Libyan leader recalled with sadness that Egypt had once been 'the fortress of struggle'. Under Gamal Nasser Abdel Nasser, it had been 'out of bounds for America'. Today, however, 'we see Egypt being trampled by the boots of American troops,' declared Qadhafi.

#### Cardinal sin

The Cairo regime in fact bore the heaviest responsibility for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, he continued. The Camp David accords, and the peace treaty between Israel and Sadat, had allowed Israeli troops to be moved from the southern front to attack the Arabs elsewhere. Egypt, he affirmed, had committed 'the cardinal sin, the biggest crime'.

Colonel Qadhafi warned that the Zionists and their US sponsors posed a threat to the whole region, and not only to the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. The 'train of death began with the occupation of Palestine, and went on to Egypt's surrender and the destruction of Lebanon. It is continuing. It will next destroy Syria and Jordan, and will then turn to Libya, Algeria, Iraq and Sudan,' declared the Libyan leader. Israel's imperial advances could be stopped only by 'Arab sacrifice, Arab effort and Arab blood'. The Israelis, he warned, were determined 'to annihilate the Arabs, country by

## New projects inaugurated

TO MARK the thirteenth anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution, Muammer Qadhafi on 2nd September officially inaugurated Libya's latest motorway, linking Gharyan and Abu Ghaylan, and two major new dams. The new motorway, 17.5 kilometres in length and 22 metres wide on each side, provides a link between the Tripoli-Aziziyeh road and the Gharyan-Nalut-Brak route.

The Wadi Zart dam, near Gharyan to the south of Tripoli, is 2,737 kilometres across, and is the widest in the country. It will provide 4.3 million cubic metres of water per year to the nearby Wadi al Hira irrigation project, from a reservoir covering 294 hectares and capable of holding 28.1 million cubic metres. The project took 45 months to complete.

The smaller Wadi Ghan dam, a \$90

million rock-fill structure, will also serve the Wadi al Hira scheme. Built by the Indian firm Continental Construction, the 315 metre wide, 84 metre high dam will control flash floods in the wadi, and collect an annual total of 650 metres of surface runoff. The reservoir's total capacity is 11 million cubic metres, and it will cover 2.1 hectares. Work on the project started in 1978.

In other ceremonies to mark the revolution anniversary, the Jamahiriya's latest dairy complex was inaugurated in the coastal town of Homs by Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa, and the Secretary of the Tobruk Municipality People's Committee formally opened a new factory for the production of pre-cast concrete bricks, with a capacity of 1,000 bricks per hour.

country, town by town, house by house, person by person'.

Predicting that Israel's next target would be Syria, Qadhafi said: 'The calamity is that Damascus will find itself standing alone. The Arabs will take the same attitude as they adopted towards Beirut.'

The Libyan leader dismissed the notion that an Israeli-dominated Palestinian mini-state in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip regions of Palestine would offer any real solution to the problem of Zionist expansionism. 'Should the Israelis establish a Palestinian state that is weak and unarmed, they will then devote themselves to crushing the Arab nation which stands behind Palestine. They will remain bitter enemies of Islam and of Arab nationalism. They will expand as long as Arab impotence allows them to. Even if the conflict between the Zionists and the Palestinians were to be resolved, the confrontation between Israel and the Arab nation would not end.'

Israel, he added, was a 'poisonous dagger in the body of the Arab homeland, in the heart of the Arab nation. We will not accept its existence, because its very presence entails devastation and expansionism at the expense of the Arab body.'

#### Priority

The top priority for the Arab nation, the Libyan leader urged, was to mobilise militarily to confront the danger. But the Arabs should no longer place their faith in regular armies, controlled by officers and headed by traditional rulers. Instead, arms should be distributed for use by the people at large. This process was already advanced in the Jamahiriya, said Colonel Qadhafi, emphasising that it involved much more than side-arms. It included 'training to handle tanks, long range missiles, aircraft and submarines'. He added: 'The regular army will disappear, I hope very soon.'

What was required, the Libyan leader insisted, was nothing less than a comprehensive military mobilisation of the Arab people at large. The only priority should be the acquisition of arms with which to confront the enemy, and this would entail sacrificing luxuries. 'You must give up luxuries and turn them into weapons,' he affirmed.

The prerequisite for a successful Arab mobilisation, Qadhafi continued, was the seizure of power by the Arab people, instigated by the revolutionary committees movement.

Under the Jamahiri system of direct democracy, the people control their destinies by reaching decisions *en masse* in popular congresses. The revolutionary committees have no executive powers, having responsibility only for propagating the ideals and principles of the Al Fateh Revolution. They are, in effect, the guardians of the Revolution.

In his anniversary speech, Colonel Qadhafi declared that while the revolutionary committees would continue to instigate the Libyan people to seize and hold onto power, the movement 'will continue to expand and spread outside Libya's borders to include the whole Arab homeland'. And to cheers from his large audience in Tripoli's Green Square, he revealed that already, 'revolutionary committees exist — openly or in secret — in Sudan, the Arabian Peninsula, Lebanon, Jordan and Morocco'.

Declaring his complete confidence in ultimate Arab victory, despite the obstacles, Colonel Qadhafi said that Libya's record during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon showed that 'Except in Libya, the Arab will has been defeated.' He added: 'We alone can raise our voice. The historical responsibility has been transferred to Libya.' The Arab capitulation, he concluded, meant that Libya was now 'the heart of the Arab homeland'.

THE MASSACRE at the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian camps in Beirut shocked the world, but it was an obvious development in the chain of events in Lebanon since Israel's forces invaded the country in early June. Ironically, those who insisted that the PLO had a moral responsibility to evacuate Beirut are the very same who have cried loudest in anger and anguish at the brutal killing of some 1,400 innocent women, children and the aged who remained undefended in the camps after the PLO forces left the city.

Militias in the Gemayel clan and the renegade Israeli ally Sa'ad Haddad had been brought to the outskirts of Beirut by Zionists officers acting under the instructions of Israel's Defence Minister General Sharon. Sources now reveal that the decision to send the militias into the camps was provided for in a long planned operation code named 'Hard Brain'.

Although the Beigin regime has denied it planned that the Palestinian civilians should be harmed, there is not a single independent observer who can accept that the massacre was anything but a foregone conclusion; the Israeli backed militias which went into the camps were led by a head of the Phalangist's elite commando corps, a known killer and close associate of Bashir Gemayel, Lebanon's President-elect who had been assassinated only two days before.

The reason why Israel should have engaged in such a bloody atrocity, which could only have brought international condemnation, remains unanswered. Israel had prepared international opinion by repeatedly claiming that 2,000 Palestinian fighters remained in West Beirut. This was a violation of the PLO evacuation agreement, the Zionists claimed.

From the moment that claim was issued it was clear that Israel would enter the Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut. Even after the massacre no evidence has been produced by the Israelis to substantiate their original claim of the 2,000 fighters being present there.

The brutality of Israel's actions can only be fully understood when it is realised that the Zionist war which Beigin and Sharon launched against the PLO has proven an unmitigated failure; Israel's declared aims were to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organisation as a military and political force, to clear the way for the Zionist annexation of the West Bank and Gaza territories of Palestine.

Sitting in his bunker on the outskirts of Beirut, himself under siege from international opinion, General Sharon had time to reflect on the failure of his mission. At least 14,000 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians had been murdered by the Israeli invasion forces in southern Lebanon; 60,000 more had been wounded, and many will bear the scars of Israel's 'Peace in Galilee' campaign for the rest of their lives. Added to this upwards of 700,000 persons had been rendered homeless, the consequence of Israel's indiscriminate shelling and bombing of the southern Lebanese

## Sabra and Shatila: Israel's answer to Fez



**THE MASSACRE of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila has shocked the world. Yet it was a consequence of international pressure for the Palestinian fighters to abandon the camps in West Beirut and the protection which the PLO forces provided. Louis Eaks looks at the background to the massacres and examines Israel's motives.**

cities, such as Tyre and Sidon, and the wholesale destruction of the Palestinian 'camps', in fact townships and cities, such as at Ein Hilweh.

If that was Sharon's achievement, it hardly matched the Zionist war-lord's declared objectives. True, the PLO forces had evacuated West Beirut, more the consequence of the failure of the Arab regimes and the international community, such as the UN, to take a single positive action to confront the Israeli invasion forces and aid the people trapped under Zionist siege in the Lebanese capital. Had all the civilians been evacuated from West Beirut, rather than the PLO and Lebanese fighters, there is nothing to suggest that Israel would have been able to enter the city.

The evacuation of Beirut was certainly not a victory for the PLO; neither was it a defeat. It was a victory for Israel, it was a small one indeed when set against the overall objectives of the Zionists, and balanced with the fact that Palestinian forces remained in the Bekaa Valley and

in northern Lebanon, and that the political victory was the PLO's; for Israel the war, even before the Shatila and Sabra massacre, had been a total disaster, shaking the alliance between Israel and the United States to a greater extent than ever before.

The PLO leader Yasser Arafat had departed from Beirut not a defeated commander, but the heroic leader of an oppressed people with a legitimate liberation struggle. He had been wildly acclaimed by Greek leaders in Athens, centre of attraction at the Arab extravaganza staged at Fez, and given top billing in Rome where he received an audience with Pope John Paul.

Sharon and Beigin, on the other hand, were now being treated by President Reagan as though they were children who had just smashed up the family car. These two delinquents of the Zionist family, itself hardly known for respect of the law, now threatened to unleash revolutions across the Arab homeland where friends like King Fahd were finding it difficult to justify their inaction during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Those responsible for the assassination of Bashir Gemayel will probably never be known, but the odds are against PLO complicity and point strongly to Israeli involvement in killing the man whose position as President-elect and head of one of the strongest militias in Lebanon was due solely to the support given to him by the Israelis over a period of years. But at the last minute, putting his own interests first, as usual, Bashir made it clear to Beigin that a peace treaty between Lebanon and Israel was not on the agenda. Given that kind of betrayal, there is little reason why the Israelis should have any greater respect for Gemayel's life than they had for tens of thousands of other Palestinians and Lebanese who stood in the path of the Zionists' grand design.

Moreover, the killing of Bashir Gemayel provided the incitement for a specially selected group of Phalangist gunmen to embark on the pogrom at Sabra and Shatila. For Beigin and Sharon the benefits of 'Operation Hard Brain' were twofold: first, apart from physically eliminating perhaps 1,400 Palestinians, about which Zionists are not squeamish, the massacre, like Deir Yassin in 1948, could be calculated to instil fear in the Palestinians left alive, and result in their mass exodus from Beirut, 'cleansing' the city of what Sharon terms 'the PLO terrorists', while at the same time the disloyal Phalangists would be further discredited.

An unstable and divided Lebanon provides just the right setting for Israel to keep the country under Zionist occupation. There is no reason to assume that this occupation will be any shorter than earlier ones, such as the illegal occupation of coastal Palestine and West Jerusalem in 1948, or the Golan and West Bank/Gaza in 1967.



WHILE THE Zionist state continues its orgy of destruction in the heart of the Arab region, Israel's main backer, the United States, has stepped up its steady erosion of the independence of the Arab countries on the exposed flanks of the Arab homeland — Oman and Morocco. In both cases, the ruling regimes, headed respectively by Sultan Qabous and King Hassan, welcome the growing US military involvement, seeing it as a bulwark against rising tides of internal opposition.

In late August it was disclosed that the United States is planning another round of military exercises in Oman, designed to underline Washington's readiness to support its client regimes, which look particularly vulnerable to popular rebellions after their dismal response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

On 28th August *The Guardian* quoted military sources in Washington as saying that the exercises, scheduled for October, 'would be designed to demonstrate the ability of American forces to respond to threats against friends of the United States in the region'. The paper cited a Pentagon official as saying that the Reagan administration, 'mapping its policy after the PLO withdrawal from Lebanon, is especially concerned about reassuring Saudi Arabia'.

For years, Washington has invoked the 'Soviet threat' to 'western' oil supplies to justify its intervention in the Arab region. But, according to the *Guardian*, 'Direct military assaults against the oilfields are now regarded only as a secondary threat in the Pentagon's revised war plans.' Far more important is the need 'to protect friendly Arab governments from being overthrown by radicals'.

#### Amphibious

October's exercises in Oman are scheduled to include a full-scale amphibious landing by US marines, and will be the second involving US troops in a year. Last November, US forces held extensive manoeuvres in the region, codenamed Bright Star, which included exercises in Egypt, and the deployment of troops in Sudan, Somalia and Oman. At the time, radical countries in the region, including the Libyan Jamahiriya, condemned the manoeuvres as clear provocations, intended much more as a deterrent to domestic opponents of the regimes than as a counter to any possible 'Russian threat'.

Although, on paper, there are no US military bases in Oman, the Qabous regime has offered facilities vital to Washington. US Navy planes fly regular missions out of Oman, carrying mail and supplies to American warships in the Arabian Sea, and two years ago Sultan Qabous allowed American troop-transport planes to use the Masirah air base during the attempt to free the US helicopters in Tehran.

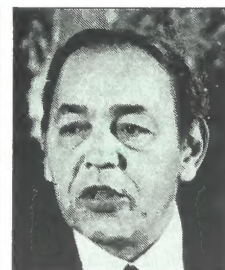
While Washington consolidates its hold on Oman in the east, there are disturbing signs of a stepped-up US military presence in Morocco, to the west. In September,

## Washington's East-West squeeze on the Arab nation

**UNDER COVER of Israel's aggression in Lebanon, the US has quietly moved to step up its military presence in the Arab homeland James McAllerton reviews Washington's ominous new moves, centering on Oman in the east and Morocco in the west.**



Sultan Qabous



King Hassan II

journalist Claudia Wright disclosed in the London monthly *The Middle East*, details of the military agreement reached between Washington and Moroccan King Hassan during the latter's visit to the US last May. At the time, officials admitted only that provision had been made for American use of Moroccan air and naval 'facilities', in particular for the Rapid Deployment Force, which will spearhead any major US intervention in the Arab homeland.

#### More involved

Claudia Wright revealed that much more was involved. 'The Moroccan government agreed to authorise the US to extend and strengthen runways at several Moroccan airfields to accommodate heavy-cargo and troop transports, aerial fuel tankers and B-52 bombers,' she disclosed. 'Storage tanks and bunkers for aircraft, fuel, ammunition, missiles and other equipment for marine and army forces will also be built.' State Department officials are cited as admitting that the Reagan administration plans to ask Congress for several million dollars to 'upgrade' the facilities.

Until 1963, the US stockpiled nuclear weapons in Morocco, and one of Ms Wright's most alarming disclosures is

that they 'may be again under the new agreements'. She added that the agreements also provide for 'the extension of communications facilities for long-range aerial anti-submarine and naval patrols in the eastern Atlantic and western Mediterranean'.

A key reason for King Hassan's growing reliance on US protection has been his failure to defeat the guerrillas of the Polisario Front, who are fighting a tenacious liberation war for the independence of the former Spanish colony of Spanish Sahara, annexed by Morocco in 1976. A turning point in the war came last October, when Hassan's army was badly mauled in a battle at the town of Gueta Zammour.

Following the defeat, the US acted swiftly to prop up its client monarchy, sending military 'advisers'. In February this year, the two countries set up a joint military commission. Washington and Rabat already operated a joint liaison office in the Moroccan capital, and there were more than one hundred Americans working with the royalist army.

Claudia Wright revealed that the US has since set its sights much higher, citing 'well-informed sources' as saying that 'possible use of seven Moroccan bases has been the subject of secret negotiations since former Secretary of State Alexander Haig's visit to Rabat in April'.

#### Penetration

The US penetration of Morocco poses a threat not only to the Arab homeland. Noting that the Reagan administration has been planning to extend NATO's operational area into the southern Atlantic, Ms Wright said: 'Washington's immediate concern is to protect US stakes along the West African coast, keeping up pressure against Angola and establishing a force capable of intervention in shaky African states such as Zaire.'

The US bases in Morocco will form part of a network of facilities extending across the Atlantic and including a new NATO base to be built in the Madeira islands, French facilities in Senegal and Gabon, and South African naval bases at Walvis Bay and Simonstown.

The US sees the socialist government in Angola as a prime target, and the Moroccan base of Benguerir will play a vital role in US plans. 'It is to be the trans-shipment point for US arms bound covertly for UNITA guerrillas in Angola,' revealed Ms Wright, noting: 'Since 1976 Congress has prohibited aid for Unita, the anti-government group led by Jonas Savimbi.'

Claudia Wright concluded her report by highlighting the contradictions of Rabat's alliance with Washington. 'As the host of the adjourned Fez Arab summit conference and chairman of the Jerusalem Committee [of the Islamic Conference], Morocco cannot logically continue to identify itself with the main supporter of Israel when Israeli bombs have massacred the population of an Arab capital.'

'THE COUNTRY itself is quiet and orderly, and its people are determined to make progress. Academic institutions are eager to co-operate with overseas bodies, and it is to be hoped that British universities will be willing to participate in this process.' That is how M V McDonald and G G Sabri-Tabrizi, lecturers at Edinburgh University's Department of Middle Eastern Studies, concluded their report on a recent tour of higher education institutions in the Jamahiriya. Their views were published in this year's first issue of the *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*.

The two academics visited the Jamahiriya in early April, when Libyans celebrate the launch of the Cultural Revolution in 1973, in which students seized control of their colleges, and began running them through committees. Key changes ensued, as reactionary and poorly qualified teaching staff were ousted, and the curricula was reorganised to meet the development priorities of revolutionary Libya.

The academics began their tour with a visit to Benghazi's Gar Yonis University. After meeting with the University's Vice Chancellor and teaching staff, whom they described as 'very cordial and eager to exchange views', they took part in a symposium organised by students, to debate the world's different economic systems. 'The content of the papers delivered, and the level of discussion by both students and staff, were impressive,' declared the visiting university teachers.

Elsewhere in the university, the academics said, literary discussions were under way, and exhibitions of books and medical achievements were being staged.

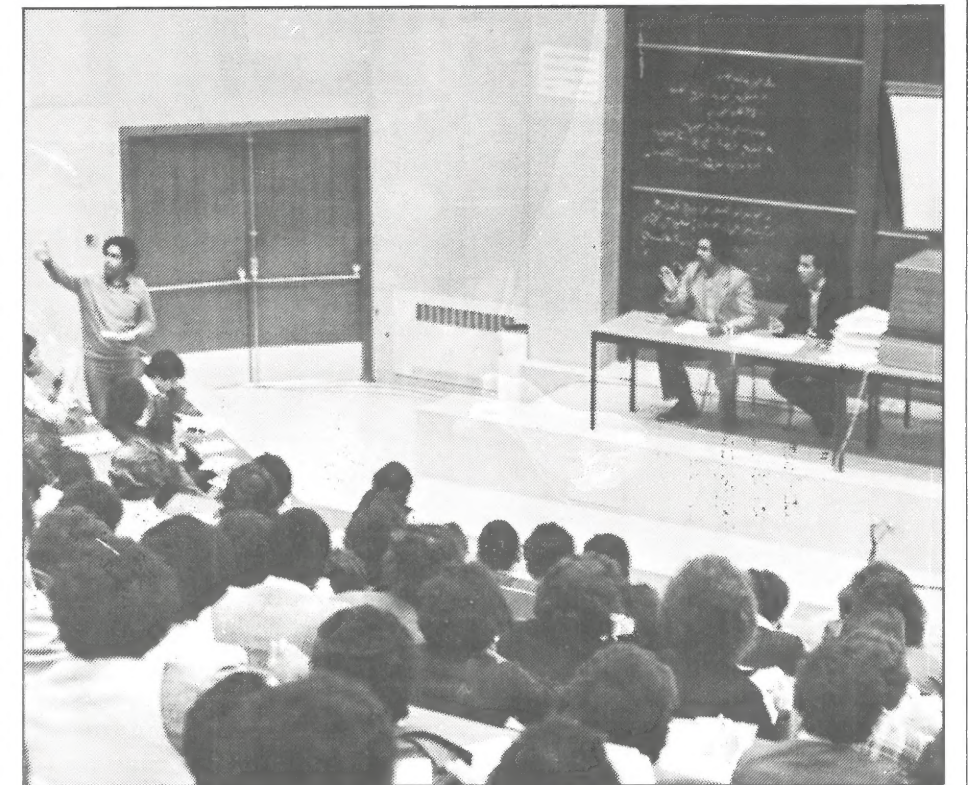
#### Striking

The most striking aspect of university life, though, was 'the active students' participation in the running of it'. By way of illustration, the two scholars described the election of a Head of Department. 'Both students and staff had the right to express his or her views on the lecturer of his choice. The lecturer whose name was put forward did not want to take the post and, instead, insisted that one of his colleagues was more experienced and better qualified than he was.'

Drs McDonald and Sabri-Tabrizi also reported positively on the city of Benghazi itself, describing it as 'well-lit, attractive and quiet', and mentioning the 'palm trees and bright clean buildings along the sea front and harbour' as being 'especially attractive'.

After Benghazi, the British academics travelled to Tripoli for a visit to the Libyan capital's Al Fateh University, which they said 'seemed vast', and where they held 'useful and fruitful discussions' with senior members of the academic staff.

'In general,' the scholars reported, 'we were favourably impressed by the achievements of students in these two universities. The curricula are geared to the needs of a developing society, and



Universities are run by popular committees

## Viewing the cultural revolution

**TWO ACADEMICS from Edinburgh University have reported favourably on a recent tour of the Jamahiriya's higher education institutions, and have pointed to the substantial scope for co-operation between British and Libyan universities. Dr Alan George reviews their impressions.**

the visiting academics noted, 'With the current impossibility of sending Libyan students to the United States (because of the boycott of Libya imposed by the Reagan administration in March), the opportunity of developing academic co-operation between Libyan and British universities should not be neglected.'

While in the Libyan capital, the two academics also paid visits to the Union of Libyan Writers, the Co-ordination Centre for Research ('whose function is fully indicated by its designation') and to the Jamahiriya's Publications Institute.

They were particularly impressed, however, by the Centre for Libyan Studies, set up to record Libya's recent history, and especially the struggle against Italian occupation from 1911 until the Second World War. 'An impressive amount of material has been assembled here, including printed material, documents, photographs, in an excellent library. Particularly striking is the collection of oral material, assembled with the advice of experts in Oral History seconded by UNESCO. The whole of the country has been divided into regions, and teams of field workers have interviewed those who took part in the struggle against the Italians. The result is now available on tape for use by research workers, of whom the Centre can accommodate up to fifteen at any time.' In addition, reported the visiting scholars, the Centre has published many books, and also maintains its own journal.

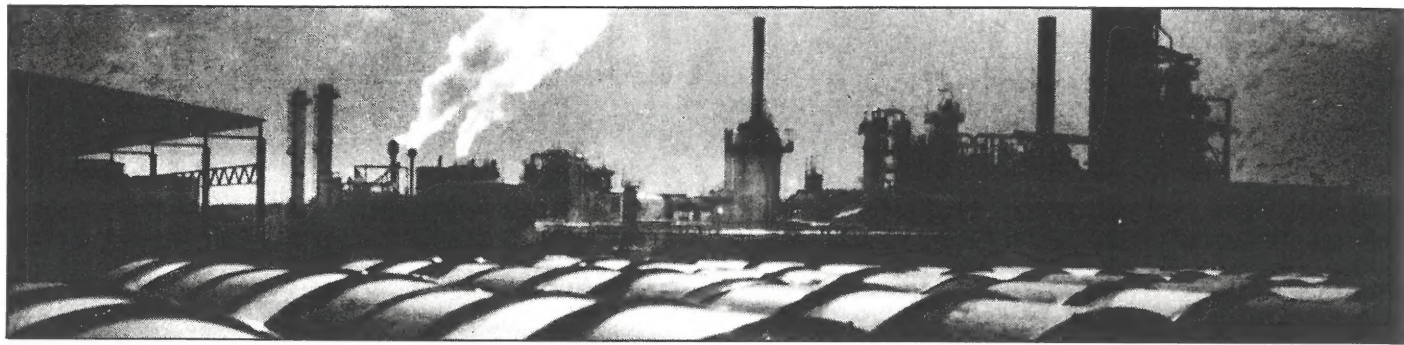
there is an emphasis on such needs as there are for science, engineering, medicine, agriculture and education.'

#### Fluent

The fact that English is still the language of instruction in technical subjects meant that Libyan students had a considerable language difficulty to overcome in their early years of instruction, 'although students to whom we spoke seemed remarkably fluent in English. By the time they graduate, students seem to have a solid grounding in their subjects.'

Postgraduate studies are in a relatively early phase of development in the Jamahiriya, and Libyan graduates must therefore pursue further studies overseas. As





## OPEC generosity puts West to shame

THE IMAGE of the world's oil-exporting countries, and, in particular those which are members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC, remains sadly, and deliberately distorted in the West. One feature of that distortion is the claim that OPEC members do little to aid the poorer members of the world community.

There is a great difference between individual OPEC members. Some, like the Islamic Republic of Iran, Venezuela and Algeria have large populations, whose own development needs demand massive expenditure. Even those OPEC members whose populations are much smaller, such as the Libyan Jamahiriya, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, have their own internal needs, to provide proper services ranging from communications to health, from housing to education for their inhabitants. None of the OPEC countries have reached the stage of economic development achieved throughout Europe and North America, and all have many years to go, and many billions of dollars to spend, before that stage becomes a reality.

One simple statistic indicates the comparative poverty of OPEC members within the world's economy. In 1978, the total Gross National Product of all thirteen OPEC members amounted to around \$379 billion — just eighteen per cent of that of the United States.

Yet, as Dr Ibrahim Shihata, Director General of the OPEC Fund for International Development, OFID, and formerly an adviser to the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, explains in his new book *The Other Face of OPEC* the OPEC states, and in particular those in the Arabian peninsula and the Libyan Jamahiriya, have a long record of aid-giving to the Third World, despite the adverse effects this could have upon their own development plans. Moreover, contrary to popular, and misinformed belief in the West, this record began before the oil price rises of 1973. The Kuwaitis established their aid fund in the 1960s, the United Arab Emirates in 1971, before independence, while in 1973, before the impact of oil price increases had really benefited OPEC countries, the Libyan Jamahiriya gave a total of 16.87 per cent of its Gross National Product in aid

**THE RECORD of the OPEC member countries in giving aid to the rest of the developing world far outstrips that of the far richer industrialised countries, as a new book by the Director General of the OPEC Fund for International Development, Dr Ibrahim Shihata, spells out. Peter Hellyer reports.**

commitments to other developing countries.

A sharp contrast can be drawn both with other major oil-exporters who are not members of OPEC, such as Mexico, and with the industrialised countries. Between 1975 and 1979, Dr Shihata reports, the top ten aid-givers, in terms of net disbursements as a percentage of GNP, had OPEC members, including the Jamahiriya, in the first six places, with only Sweden, Holland and France appearing from the developed countries. The top six all exceeded the target of 1 per cent of GNP set by the United Nations — and countries such as the United States, all too prone to condemn OPEC, appeared nowhere. In many of the years under review, the actual cash disbursed by OPEC members well exceeded that of the United States, a country five times wealthier in terms of its GNP.

Dr Shihata's book concentrates primarily on the Arabian peninsula countries and the Jamahiriya, although with useful sections on international bodies such as OFID and the International Fund for Agricultural Development, largely funded by OPEC members. As he points out, the aid is not, as in the case of the industrialised world, out of normal revenues. 'The Arab producers are not really sharing their income with the less fortunate countries, in effect they are giving away a substantial portion of their exhaustible and un-renewable capital.'

Moreover, that aid is directed to those countries that most require it, and without

any strings, since developing countries like the Jamahiriya, still constructing its industrial base, can scarcely offer aid tied to purchases — a common practice amongst industrialised aid givers like the United States and Britain.

The countries denominated by the United Nations as the 'least developed' and 'most seriously affected', LDCs and MSAs, receive about half of OPEC's total aid, and more than 75 per cent of OFID's assistance. Most US aid, on the other hand, goes to countries already at least partially developed, while the largest single recipient is the Zionist state of Israel, which only counts as 'under-developed' because of blatant misuse of the terms of reference.

*The Other Face of OPEC*, a collection of speeches and articles by Dr Shihata covering much of the past few years, provides a useful source of reference on the reality of OPEC aid. It would be pleasant to think that it will help to undermine the false image generally held about the organisation — but on this, as on so much connected with Western attitudes towards the developing world, I fear that there is a long way to go in defeating the hostile and inaccurate picture that has so carefully been created and planted in people's minds.

Dr Shihata describes OPEC's aid record thus; 'Such efforts represent a form of assistance in which a group of countries, themselves developing, voluntarily share their wealth, and not merely their income, with other countries in need.'

He goes on: 'The donors realise that they may not necessarily be richer than the recipients. But they feel that the liquidity currently available to them should be used to meet the financial needs of other developing nations for the benefit of the Third World as a whole and as a voluntary expression of solidarity that is deeply felt.'

Rather than swallowing the conventional misrepresentations, people would do well to study Dr Shihata's book, which puts not only OPEC's scale of assistance, but also the reasons for it, in a more accurate perspective.

□ *The Other Face of OPEC: Financial assistance to the Third World, by Dr Ibrahim Shihata is published by Longmans, London.*

WITH MORE than 90 per cent of the Libyan Jamahiriya comprising barren desert, water is even more crucial than oil to the country's long-term development. With this in mind, Libyan planners are engaged in a two-pronged programme, aiming to improve the quality and quantity of water, while at the same time taking steps to avoid wastage.

These two objectives neatly dovetail in Libya's ambitious sewage recycling schemes, in which the British consultant engineering firm Howard Humphreys & Partners is playing an important role. In the Jamahiriya's major cities and towns — Tripoli, Benghazi, Misrata, Sebha, Derna and Tobruk — the firm has designed and supervised construction of schemes where foul sewage is transformed into water of suitable quality for irrigation. As well as saving water, these treatment plants enhance both the environment and public health.

The basic design of all Libya's sewage recycling plants is broadly similar, and the plant serving Benghazi serves as a model. Located at Guarchia, eight kilometres south of the city, the first stage was commissioned in 1976, with a daily capacity of 27,000 cubic metres. The second stage will raise capacity to 81,000 cubic metres per day, and is nearing completion by the Jamahiriya's National Company for the Construction and Maintenance of Municipal Works. The third stage, to cost \$102 million, will bring capacity to 181,000 cubic metres per day.

A series of processes at Guarchia remove solid wastes and break down biologically the impurities in sewage, and the effluent is then sterilised with chlorine gas, which is now manufactured in Libya. Reservoirs can store up to three days' throughput of treated effluent — a total, on completion of the third stage extension, of 544,000 cubic metres.

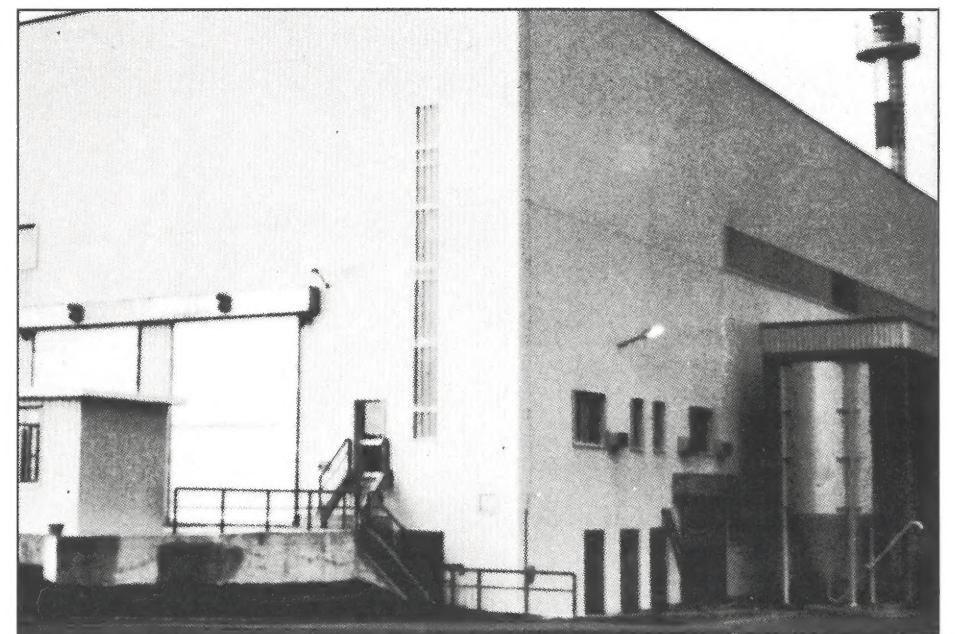
Since 1977, the treated effluent has been used for irrigation on an associated agricultural scheme. To avert any risk of infection, however, no crops are grown for direct human consumption. Instead, maize, barley, alfalfa, Sudan grass and vetch are produced as fodder: the animals act as 'recycling plants' in their own right!

The 350 hectares first stage of the fodder production scheme entered operation in 1977, and a second stage, of 350 hectares, will soon be completed. Design and supervision is by the Polish firm Pol-service. A third stage, comprising 810 hectares, is being designed by the Zurich office of the West German Gewibau consultancy, and a 470 hectares fourth stage is planned.

Fodder harvests will be consumed by a 3,500-head dairy herd, and milk production will be processed at a new dairy plant, whose construction is about to start and should be completed in November next year.

### Integral part

The Guarchia treatment plant is an integral part of the overall Benghazi drainage



Main process building at Derna's domestic refuse disposal plant

## Waste not, want not: Garnering scarce resources

**CONSERVATION OF scarce natural resources is a key aim of Libya's development programme. Dr Alan George reviews the contribution of the British consultant engineers Howard Humphreys & Partners, who are involved in a number of important waste treatment and recycling schemes.**

system, for which Howard Humphreys has had overall design and construction supervision responsibility since the early 1960s. The first phase entailed the provision of sewers, separate surface water drains and treatment works, and drew to a close in late 1974. The much more ambitious \$1 billion second phase covers the city's growth until the year 2014, when the population is expected to reach 950,000, compared with the present 400,000.

Howard Humphreys & Partners is helping the Jamahiriya to conserve its natural resources in other ways too. The firm played an important role in the establishment of Derna's modern domestic refuse disposal plant, which produces compost for agricultural use. In 1978 the Italian firm Marine Construzione Ecologiche was awarded a contract to design and build the plant. Libya's National Company for the Construction and Maintenance of Municipal Works was engaged by the municipality to check the designs and supervise construction, and they in turn

brought in Howard Humphreys to assist. After careful study of the contractor's plans, the British firm recommended a number of significant modifications.

The plant has a capacity of 100 tonnes of domestic refuse per day, although the load for the first few years is unlikely to exceed fifty tonnes per day. After glass, metal and other inorganic waste has been filtered out, the refuse is fed into large storage towers for accelerated fermentation. The compost is despatched either in bulk or, after screening and refining, in bags.

### Experience

Howard Humphreys & Partners, like other firms with the benefit of many years' experience of involvement in the Jamahiriya's development programme, think that the image drawn by the western media is often misleading. 'We have had teams of engineers resident in Libya for the best part of twenty-five years. Others travel back and forth regularly,' says Maurice Archer, a Technical Director of the firm. 'In all that time we have been able to find solutions to most problems that have arisen, and have enjoyed the full co-operation of the country's authorities, in often complex projects.'

It is easy to understand why some British consultants have been reluctant to live and work in the Jamahiriya, Mr Archer added, saying: 'It can take time to adjust.' However, he stressed: 'Fortunately, we have this behind us now.'

He continued: 'I suppose Libya's media image inevitably affects people's attitudes. But from our long experience on the ground, I can say that any difficulties there might be in Libya are often accentuated by the papers.'





Libyan Arab Airlines faces Airbus delays: See report right.

## Libya Joins Green Belt project

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's National Office for Consultative Agricultural Studies has signed an agreement with the North African Green Belt Project in Tunisia, the Libyan news agency JANA announced on 23rd August. The agency said that the agreement called for 'a comprehensive study of the best uses of forest lands, pastures, soil, and water, and on how best to preserve the natural resources of the North African countries'. It also provides for increased co-operation between the Arab countries of North Africa in protecting the environment and checking the advance of the desert onto cultivated land.

The principal means of countering the encroachment of the desert is afforestation. Trees help conserve water and soil by reducing surface run-off rains, and also act as wind-breaks, slowing down the movement of dunes.

The Green Belt Project was set up in the early 1970s, following a UN conference on desertification. The conference recommended six regional afforestation schemes, of which one called for the establishment of a zone of forest along the northern edge of the Sahara desert.

Libya has for many years been engaged in an ambitious afforestation programme, that is continuing during the period of the current 1981-85 development plan. By the middle of the decade, the total number of date palms in the country will rise to 5.2 million, compared with 4.6 million in 1980. Fruit trees will increase from 3.1 million to 4.1 million, and an area of 228,848 hectares will be planted with a variety of forest trees.

## Record beef order for Ireland

PURCELL BROTHERS of Ireland have won a £20 million contract to supply the Jamahiriya with up to 12,000 tonnes of beef over the coming ten months, the *Irish Times* disclosed on 19th August.

It is the largest beef order of its kind ever placed by a non-EEC country with an Irish beef exporter, and was described by Irish Agriculture Minister Brian Lenihan as 'a very significant breakthrough for the industry'.

Mr Lenihan visited the Jamahiriya in May specifically for talks aimed at boosting Irish exports of cattle and cattle products. On learning of the Purcell Brothers contract, Mr Lenihan said: 'The outcome has surpassed even what I had hoped for then.'

## \$100 million construction contract for India

THE INDIAN state-owned Project & Equipment Corporation off India is well placed to win a \$100 million turnkey award for the construction of an administrative and commercial complex in the north east town of Beida, it was revealed in September. The complex will include a hotel, cinema, supermarket, offices and apartments.

The firm already has a \$39 million contract from the Beida municipality for the construction of eight schools, one five-storey block of flats, two warehouses, an administrative building and the completion of 199 houses. The firm hopes that work on its existing Beida contract will be completed early next year.

## Irish trade booms

FIGURES JUST released by the Central Statistics Office in Dublin show a marked increase in Irish exports to the Jamahiriya, while imports from Libya have remained at a modest level. From a figure of £40.8 million in 1979, Irish exports — mostly of agricultural

products — rose by 57 per cent to £64.1 million in 1980. In 1981 they reached £102.6 million, a 60 per cent increase on 1980 and two and one half times the 1979 level.

Irish imports from Libya in the 1979-81 period, by contrast, were very modest, ranging between £1,000 in 1981 and £310,00 in 1980.

The figures also show that the Jamahiriya has become Dublin's single most important market in the Arab region, in 1981 taking 35 per cent of Irish sales to the region. Egypt was in second place, with 24.1 per cent. In 1981 the region accounted for almost six per cent of worldwide Irish imports.

## LAA resists western pressure

LIBYAN ARAB Airlines (LAA) is resisting pressures to lower its freight rates in the face of discounting by European airlines of up to fifty per cent. At present, the cheapest rates on routes between West Europe and the Jamahiriya are about \$0.86 per kilo.

British-Libyan airfreight traffic is reportedly down by one third on last year's levels. In the first quarter of 1982, British exports by air to Libya totalled 834 tonnes, 33 per cent less than the 1,237 tonnes carried in the same period last year.

LAA is also facing pressure stemming from the US embargo of supplies of civil aviation equipment to the Jamahiriya. The airline placed firm orders for ten European Airbus Industrie aircraft, worth \$500 million, but delivery of the first two planes, due in June, has been held up because the engines are supplied by Pratt & Whitney and General Electric, both of the US. The other eight planes were to have been delivered at a rate of two per year.

## Urea production moves ahead

LIBYA'S FIRST urea fertiliser plant, at the emergent coastal industrial centre of Marsa Brega, produced 98,947 tonnes during the past six months, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA has disclosed. The 1,000 tonnes per day capacity plant was built at a cost of \$100 million by Italy's Foster Wheeler Italiana, and opened in 1980.

The petrochemicals sector is a cornerstone of the Jamahiriya's industrialisation programme, and



Health care: one thousand new doctors by 1985

a number of major developments have been completed, or are under way, at Marsa Brega. A second urea fertiliser plant is operational, and the contract for a third was signed in 1981. To be built by a consortium of Uhde of West Germany and Italy's Belleli Meccaniche Industrie, at a cost of \$97 million, the third plant will open at the end of next year, with a daily capacity of 1,750 tonnes. The capacity of the first urea plant, meanwhile, is scheduled to be raised to 1,750 tonnes per day.

Marsa Brega is also the site of Libya's first ammonia plant, and a second is nearing completion. The Jamahiriya's first methanol plant opened in Marsa Brega in 1977, and a second is scheduled to enter operation at the end of next year.

## Homs dairy complex opens

LIBYA'S LATEST dairy complex was opened on 5th September at the coastal town of Homs by Mr Musa Abu Freiwa, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Economy and Light Industry. The plant, which employs 120 workers, has a capacity of 85,000 litres of milk per day with separate production lines for pasteurised and homogenised milk, yoghurt and drinking yoghurt.

The \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan allocates \$8.3 billion to agricultural

development, accounting for 18.2 per cent of total expenditures. Only the industrial sector, with investments set at \$11.7 billion, has a higher priority.

Rising living standards in Libya have brought a rapid increase in demand for high protein foods. Traditionally, mutton has been the country's staple protein, but Libyan planners feel that to encourage a major expansion of sheep rearing might result in pastures being damaged by overgrazing. Accordingly, the five year sectoral plan for agriculture puts special emphasis on the establishment of agri-business ventures to produce dairy and poultry products.

## Medical team from China

A MEDICAL team from the People's Republic of China will serve in the Jamahiriya, under an agreement signed in Peking on 22nd August between the Chinese Health Ministry and the Libyan General People's Committee for Health. The Chinese team will arrive before the end of this year.

The agreement was one of several concluded in China in August during a visit by a team of top Libyan officials, headed by Mr Jadallah Azzouz Talhi, Secretary of the General People's Committee. The visit was the latest sign of the growing rapprochement between the Jamahiriya and China, after a period of

estrangement between the Jamahiriya and China, after a period of estrangement prompted by Peking's support for the Sadat regime in Cairo.

Libya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan calls for an increase in the number of doctors from 4,300 in 1980 to 5,280 in 1985, while the ratio of nurses to people will remain stable at 1:240.

The plan puts special emphasis on the acquisition of skills by Libyans, and aims at increasing the proportion of Libyan doctors from the 1980 total of 10.5 per cent to 40 per cent, of nurses from 57.8 per cent, and of medical technicians from 41.3 per cent to 90 per cent.

## Telecom links expand

EUROPEAN AND Japanese firms have been contracted by Tunisia to supply and install telephone links with the Libyan Jamahiriya and Algeria. The awards are in two parts, covering sections between Tunis and the Algerian border, and from the town of Gabes to the frontier with the Jamahiriya.

A \$66 million contract for installation of cables has been won by France's Société Anonyme de Télécommunications, the Italian firm Fabbria Apparechiature Telefoniche has a \$5 million contract for line equipment, while Japan's Nippon Electric Company will supply

multiplex transmission equipment also valued at \$5 million.

The Jamahiriya has also been moving fast to improve its domestic and international telephone links, and in August the Libyan Overseas Telephone Commission introduced its 'call-a-number' service, allowing international calls to be booked through the operator to telephone numbers, rather than to individuals. Charges are \$6 for the first three minutes — compared with \$10.40 for person-to-person calls — and \$2 for each additional minute.

Libya's current five year plan provides for an expansion in the number of telephone lines in the Jamahiriya from six per 100 citizens in 1980 to ten per 100 in 1985.

## Survey vessel to work for Oasis oil

THE SURVEY vessel *Steigen*, owned by Oilfield Hydrographic Projects, is to work for the Oasis Oil Company of Libya. In a recent refit, the ship's generating capacity was boosted, and precision echo sounder transducers and navigation equipment were added. The *Steigen* will survey a tanker terminal site near Al Sidr in the Gulf of Sirte, and when this has been completed, it will go on to conduct seabed coring operations in the central Mediterranean, and pipeline route survey work in Spanish waters.



# THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

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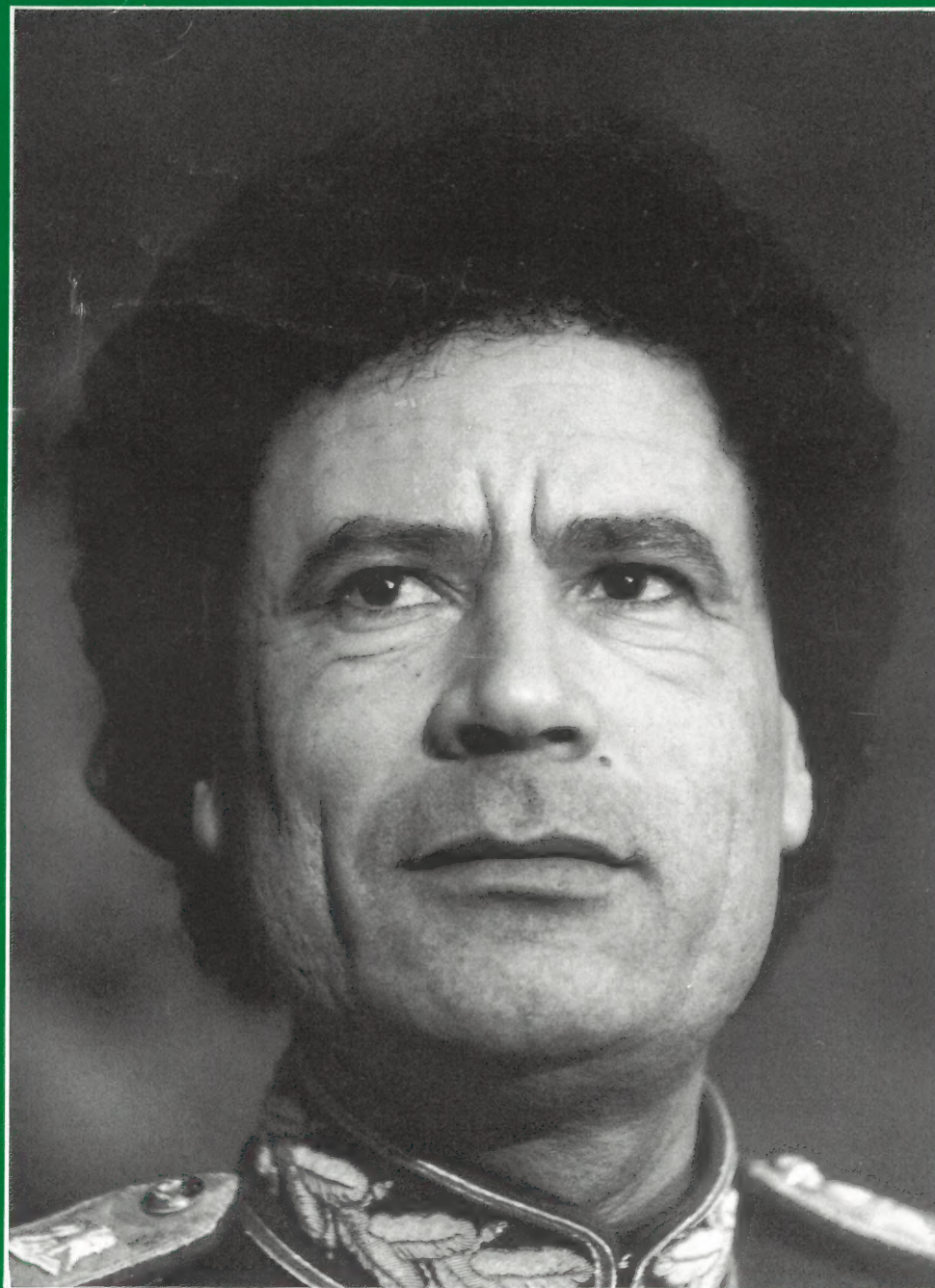
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Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

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